WRL News

ISSN: 0042-9791

No. 236 | The War Resisters League | May-June 1983

August 27 March on Washington for Jobs, Peace & Freedom: Celebrating the Past, Organzing for the Future

By Anne Braden

Mobilizing has begun for a giant March on Washington for Jobs, Peace & Freedom August 27-28, the 20th anniversary of the historic 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom.

It's important to recall what that 1963 march, and the movement that produced it, meant to this country—and to think about events since. The message of the 60's is critical for the 1980's

The August 28, 1963, March on Washington brought over 250,000 people to the streets of the nation's capital to demand equality for its Black citizens. Whites from every walk of life marched with Blacks that day, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., made his famous "I Have A Dream" speech, projecting a vision of human solidarity that captured the nation's imagination.

The 1963 march was part of a movement for reversal of U.S. racial policies that had been building at the grass-roots since December 1, 1955, when Rosa Parks sat down on a segregated bus in Montgomery, Ala. From there, a new mass movement of Black people saying 'No' to segregation and discrimination spread across the South, and then the nation. The movement was not simply against segregation, it was *for* a new world, "the beloved community," as people said in its early days. Black activists, and some whites, were prepared to die for it, and some did.

The results were remarkable. The movement killed Jim Crow in the South and won the right to vote for Blacks—thus changing politics in the South, and thereby in the country, forever. And a chain reaction shook the entire country to its roots. Arising at the depths of the repression brought on by the Cold War and the witch hunts of the late 40's, the civil-rights movement broke the pall of the Silent 50's, sparked a new student movement on white campuses, opened the way for a mass peace movement of the 60's, made possible the new movement of women for freedom, opened new avenues of struggle to America's other oppressed nationalities, paved the way for labor unions to organize in the South, made it possible for gay people to demand their rights, for elderly people to organize anew for a decent old-age, and for handicapped people to demand *their* rights.

Those who doubt that the civil-rights movement generated this ferment should compare the brave few (including the War Resisters League) who opposed the Korean War with the mass movement against the Vietnam War. What happened in between was the civil rights movement. The result

continued on page 8

War Tax Resistance in West Virginia

Morgantown WRL organized an April 15 gathering in front of the main post office to encourage protest and nonpayment of war taxes. They gave tax resisted money to a local voluntary services for the elderly group, and to WIN magazine, and were interviewed by a radio station and the local newspaper. The next day they participated in the Earth Day Peace Fair at the West Virginia University Campus, and did face painting to help raise funds. For other war tax resistance news, see page 3.

A Tour Guide to British Peace Camps

By Kath Buffington

In February and March, I visited seven peace camps in Britain. Britain is about the size of Pennsylvania. In that small space there are at least 103 U.S. installations. Many of the U.S. military personnel stationed at these installations are paid in dollars, cash their checks at U.S. banks on the base, buy their groceries in U.S. stores on the base, bowl at the base alley and drive their U.S. cars around Britain with U.S. plates. It's not surprising that the British already feel as if they lived in an occupied country.

This pervasive military presence is augmented by the British installations. One of the most disquieting experiences I had was my visit to the Strathclyde region of southwestern Scotland. I would drive through fells (sharp, steep hills with little vegetation), up narrow valleys, along lochs, then turn a corner and be confronted with a U.S. sub base or British torpedo testing range. I was furious that in the midst of such ancient beauty, preparations for the destruction of the earth and her people's were being made. I felt a bit hopeless too. However, visiting the peace camps, particularly Faslane, dispelled that hopelessness.

The peace camps, like the peace movement, are a mixed bag. There are at least ten, with more springing up all the time. They have focussed local, regional, national and international attention on these installations, which are, literally, in peoples' backyards. It's difficult, if not inappropriate, to make judgements based on my short visits. I can describe the seven I visited.

Daws Hill

Daws Hills is a small camp, mostly students, who went there for a Christmas vigil and stayed on. The Daws Hill USAFB will be the site of the underground bunker housing the cruise missile computer control center. Nearby will be the backup command headquarters for NATO forces in Europe.

Burtonwood

Burtonwood is a small camp across the street from the U.S. Army housing for the base. The 50-plus army personnel run an enormous depot. There is a suspicion that nuclear weapons are stored there as well as more mundane supplies. Vigils are held every Sunday afternoon and a Celebration of Spring was planned.

Upper Heyford

Upper Heyford has two camps, one on either side of the base. Seven thousand service people plus families are stationed there. F1-11's are easily visible from the camp. Ten are on permanent alert with six nuclear warheads each.

Greenham Common

Greenham Common is a proposed cruise deployment site. The camp is literally against the fence. At other camps, I found caravans (camping trailers) and permanent tents. At Greenham, there are lots of plastic tarps, very portable equipment and buckets of mud. English law regarding the "Common" prohibits permanent structures—a point that is now being raised with regard to the base. Many women (British as well as around the world) view Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp as a spiritual source.

Capenhurst

Capenhurst was tiny when I was there. It was set up for three months and was scheduled to end with a gathering on International Women's Day. Capenhurst is the other women's camp and the only camp of a military contractor. The camp is on the lawn by the main entrance to the British Nuclear Fuels, Ltd. plant. BNF sells enriched uranium to the U.S. and Brazil for their nuclear programs and will provide fuel for British nuclear subs. The executives

continued on page 7

Greenham Common, England, 1/1/83—Women dance on top of one of the silos being built to house cruise missiles arising December 1983 or earlier. Women climbed over the fence into the top security base and danced and sang for over an hour. They were arrested and charged with breach of the peace. Photo by Pam Isherwood

---

Kath Buffington is a WRL member and the Director of the Nuclear Weapons Facilities Networking Project, Upper N.Y. AFSC, and active with the Syracuse Peace Council.

1

War Tax Resistance Gathers Momentum

By Ed Hedemann

The biggest show of war tax resistance (wtr) actions since 1972, during the opposition to the Indochina War, occurred from April 1 through 15 this year. Over 120 events blanketed the country, most of them on April 15.

The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee, formed last September in Washington, D.C., set out to promote these actions through the national media. The Center on Law and Pacifism and the Conscience and Military Tax Campaign in conjunction with wtr groups around the country advertised and collected particulars on the April 15 actions. The War Resisters League took the responsibility to issue two national press releases and stage a national press conference, the first such event since the Indochina War.

The press conference was held on April 7 at 339 Lafayette and was attended by Wally Nelson from western Massachusetts, a war tax resister since 1949 and frequently associated with the Peacemakers; Rosemary Maguire, a part-owner of a Baltimore cafe, Montessori teacher, and resister since the Vietnam era; Rev. Dennis Jacobson, a Lutheran minister with a parish in a Jersey City poor Black neighborhood. Maureen Roach, who works with the MfS Religious Task Force in Brooklyn and has just begun to resist taxes; and Ralph Dull, an Ohio farmer who got a lot of media coverage last year when he drove a truckload of grain to the IRS office as payment for his income taxes (the IRS declined this payment), and who has been a war tax resister since 1951.

The media turn out at the press conference was "light" (National Public Radio, Associated Press, CBS Radio, plus several phone interviews). However, the final release, which was an impressive 7-page listing of events, went out to 250 media contacts around the country.

From these actions and the growth of interest in tax resistance, we expect the number of people who are refusing to pay some or all of their Federal income taxes because of military spending to approach an all time high.

Ed Hedemann is a member of the the WRL national staff.

War tax resistance press conference, April 7, 1983. From left to right: Rev. Dennis Jacobson, Ralph Dull, Maureen Roach, Rosemary Maguire, and Wally Nelson.
Photo by David McReynolds

Government Seizes WRL Bank Account

On April 18, 1983, the U.S. Department of Justice seized $1228.23 from the bank account of WRL. This was the culmination of several years resistance by the WRL not to honor IRS levies on Ralph DiGia's salary. Ralph has refused to pay the IRS a third of his income taxes for 1971, 1972, 1974, and 1975 (as well as 1973, but they missed that year). The amount seized included Ralph's unpaid taxes, interest and penalities, and a 50% penalty against WRL for refusal to honor the levy.

The notice of seizure, ordered by the U.S. District Court, began like a medieval draft notice: "THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, To the Marshal of the Southern District of New York, GREETING: YOU ARE COMMANDED, That the goods and chattels of War Resisters League..." be forked over to the Government.

Court action against the WRL, in this case, began in June of 1978 after the WRL refused to obey several IRS levies on DiGia's salary that were made in 1976 and 1977, and a "Final Demand" in March of 1978. A court hearing originally scheduled for the Fall of 1978 was postponed to 1979. WRL was assisted by the Center on Law and Pacifism (Donna Baker and William Durland), Harrop Freeman, and Allan Solomonow. In December 1979, after hearing arguments from both sides, the U.S. District Court, while ruling for the Government stated, "The Government does not challenge the sincerity of defendent's professed opposition to war nor its desire to express that opposition by refusing to pay taxes." In January of 1980 the Court duly issued a "notice of Settlement and Judgement," which was duly refused by WRL. Then in April 1981 the WRL was summoned to appear before the IRS with documents "reflecting the assets and liabilities" of WRL. Ralph DiGia and Ed Hedemann appeared, but without documents or information, and politely refused to cooperate with the collection agent. And that is where it stood until the collection two years later.

This is not the first seizure of WRL's bank account. Nine years ago to the day—April 18, 1974 (notice how April appears to be a popular month)—the IRS seized $2537.43, representing war tax resisted money of WRL employees for tax years 1969, 1970, 1971, plus interest and penalties (see *WRL News*, May-June 1974). And shortly after that, the IRS made a smaller seizure.

Impressions of the German and Dutch Pacifist Movements

By Grace Hane Hedemann

I travelled through Germany and the Netherlands for two weeks this winter on behalf of the War Resisters League. In March the Green Party (Die Grunen) was elected into the German Parliament (Bundestag). With their 27 seats the Greens will be a small, but significant "irritant" within the German establishment. This represents a culmination of rapid and impressive growth in the European anti-nuclear movement which began in Holland only a few years ago.

The Green Party ran more than an anti-nuclear campaign. Their slogans included "Secure jobs through self-managed factories," "The Greens...ecology, grassroots democracy, nonviolence," and "Women have a right to wanted children and a human environment." Typically, Greens are middle class people concerned about national and local issues from the environment to the school system to preservation of historical landmarks. Many are professionals. Some call the Greens a party of intellectuals, but they are also a party of grassroots activists committed to nonviolence and civil disobedience. They have made an impact on local, and now, national politics. On March 29th, the first day of the new German Parliament, the Greens joined a protest march against a ban on demonstrations near Parliament, and then they entered Parliament rolling an enormous brightly colored ball representing "The Earth" as well as carrying a giant fir tree damaged by industrial pollution.

So, when I received an invitation from the Greens to tour Germany just prior to the national elections, it provided an excellent opportunity to solidfy our contacts with the Greens and WRI affiliates. Our relationship with this new German movement began in 1978 when WRL's "Nuclear America" map inspired Petra Kelly, later to become a leading spokesperson of the Greens, to develop a nuclear Germany map. The Green map, when published, caused a sensation because government officials claimed it divulged state secrets. The Greens countered by producing the WRL map, which revealed similar information—all from public documents.

I toured Germany as part of an international peace activist panel. This panel included Leo Jansen from the Netherlands and former member of the Dutch Parliament; Irmgard Rathje from Denmark and member of Women for Peace; Solange Fernex from France and member of Women for Peace and Fast for Peace organizer; and Barbo Sjogren from Sweden and a member of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. I spoke of the diversity, successes, and problems of the American peace movement. In particular I explained the differences between organizing in Germany—a country the size of Oregon—versus the entire United States, problems of American provincialism, the energizing effect of the European peace movement on the American movement, the 1983 U.S. peace activities, and the growing awareness and opposition to the Cruise and Pershing IIs.

What became clear to me was what my participation in the tour symbolized. One woman who thanked me for coming to Germany said, "I cried after you spoke at the concert, because it meant so much to me to know there were Americans who felt the same about nuclear war and the arms race."

Speaking engagements were organized in Hanover, Luneburg and Hildesheim. Audiences ranged in size from 20 to several hundred. I needed a translator at each engagement, as did the woman from Sweden, but the other delegates spoke German. At one engagement in a local Hildesheim pub, enough enthusiasm was generated to begin the formation of a Green Party chapter and discuss organizing an Easter Week action. Civil disobedience was a hotly debated topic: its appropriateness, limitations, potential alienation, and whether other tactics would be more effective in broadening the base of the movement. We stayed in a variety of homes from a small, simple women's collective to a two-story, five bedroom home. Each place made us feel at home, and there were always lively political discussions.

The latter part of my trip to Germany and the Netherlands was spent visiting War Resisters' International (WRI) contacts, such as Helga and Wolfgang Weber-Zucht, long time associates of WRI. Helga staffed the WRI office in London for a number of years. When she and Wolfgang returned to Germany n 1974 they founded *Graswurzel-revolution* and the Foderation Gewaltfreier Aktionsgruppen. I discussed with them the problems of civil disobedience; training; leadership; decision-making; how can a small group of trained activists work with a

continued on page 5

Chatting after a major Green Party speaking engagement in Luneburg, West Germany. Photo by Grace Hane Hedemann

Grace Hane Hedemann is a WRL national staffperson.

END Activists Conference

By Dr. Linnea Capps

The weekend meeting in northern England was billed by its organizers, European Nuclear Disarmament (END), as a "West European Activists Conference." The intention was that most of the participants would be local peace movement organizers.

Due to several unforeseen circumstances, not everything turned out exactly as planned. The first problem was a strike by workers in the British Rail System which caused a number of participants to spend long hours waiting in a very cold London train station before crowding onto a train headed for Bradford. The Friday evening session on February 11 was devoted to reports on the status of the peace movement in each country. More than a dozen countries were represented and several delegations included representatives of more than one organization.

The presence of a large number of leaders of national peace organizations may also have been something of a surprise to the planners of the conference. There were occasional expressions of dissatisfaction from local organizers and from women, who seemed to feel that the meeting was dominated by male peace movement "big shots." Half of the conference sessions were large plenaries devoted to such subjects as specific and somewhat technical arguments against the Cruise and Pershing II missiles and a debate on the peace movement in Eastern Europe. Three sessions were given over to workshops on topics including strategy for the immediate future, methods of resistance, and relations among European and American peace groups.

A rather large group from the United States attended with representation from eight groups (including WRL), which also was something the Europeans didn't expect. That so many organizations decided to send representatives reflected growing interest by U.S. peace groups in European disarmament activities. It also reflected recent controversy among American groups concerning how the many different organizations in the U.S. should relate to the European peace movement.

One issue which surfaced several times in different contexts was North-South cultural differences within Europe. Organizers from Southern European countries, particularly Spain and Italy, noted that political and cultural differences sometimes makes it difficult to utilize the same tactics as those of Northern European disarmament activists. One workshop in which several activists from Italy discussed the difficulties involved in organizing nonviolent direct actions or civil disobedience was enlightening to north Europeans as well as Americans.

One of the highlights of the weekend for a part of the American delegation was speaking at the meeting of the local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament group in the small town of Otley. Fifty people came to this Saturday night meeting which was held in a local pub. There was a lively discussion about the American and British peace movements and several of those attending seemed pleasantly surprised to hear that the American peace movement is still alive.

Dr. Linnea Capps is the chairwoman of the WRL.

German and Dutch Impressions

continued from page 4

larger, untrained group during a potentially volatile demonstration; the relationship between the philosophy of nonviolence and the tactics of nonviolence; and the use of handbooks for training; and purposes of analysis after an action.

In addition, we discussed the relationship between the grassroots network and the national peace organizations. Helga was on the Steering Committee for the June 10 Bonn Rally last year along with Petra Kelly of the Green Party. Some national organizations have no grassroots base, but a national office, staff and money; while other organizations have a strong network throughout the country, but no national office.

I also met with total noncooperators to military conscription. A common problem for them whether in Germany, Holland or the United States is their sense of isolation. They are young, inexperienced, lack organizational support, have no money for networking or legal defense, and face prison. They find each other through the WRI network and try to develop support systems on limited funds with a transient group of young men who usually remain active from one to three years depending on their case. Many of these young men never move beyond their personal opposition to the military to a broader political perspective. WRI activists try to make the connections, encourage broader involvement, and support their immediate needs.

Amersterdam turned out to be a fascinating city. The squatters movement includes 10,000 squatters with 4,000 hard core activists occupying empty buildings in Amsterdam due to inequities in the rental and property laws. For instance, one landlord owns over 1,400 buildings in the city and received subsidizes for empty versus occupied buildings. He was jailed recently for fraud. The squatters movement has politicized the city from the squatters to the establishment. An interesting application of nonviolence have been meetings between the police and the squatters. The squatters were opposed to dialogue with the police when the movement began. Tempers and violence were high during evictions. Nonviolence activists suggested and implemented dialogue with police bringing them into squatters' homes to explain the origin and necessity of the movement. The police still remove squatters when all legal channels fail, but with greater understanding of the inequities of the system, some resignations, reassignment of duties, and seeking alternative housing for squatters before removing them from an occupied building.

The connections of the arts to politics is quite apparent in Holland. I found cultural workers in both the squatters and peace movements. Bibiana, an artist I stayed with, had just completed one of 12 panels that would be carried in the International Women's Day March in Brussels to NATO Headquarters. I visited Neal Bowen, former WRL intern to WRI and Jeff Tracy, coordinator of Run for Peace and Ranchers for Peace in the U.S. at Meth Madura, a nonviolence training center outside Amsterdam. I visited the peace memorial at the site of the November, 1981 demonstration where over 400,000 people packed Amsterdam—a 12 foot high paper mache missile converted to a human figure. So, to end my trip where "Hollanditis" (the so-called "pacifist disease" which began in Holland and spread across Europe) began seemed quite fitting and a reminder of how much work lies ahead for us and the Europeans.

Converted missile into humankind on the site of the 400,000 demonstration in Amsterdam on November 21, 1982.
Photo by Grace Hane Hedemann

WRL National Committee Meets

Twice a year the WRL National Committee (NC), the highest decision making body of WRL, meets. At the February meeting, over 40 people, including representatives from thirteen local groups, participated in the meeting.

Among the program decisions made was to continue with the April 23 Civil Defense Strategy Conference and subsequent work, develop a draft/counter-militarism clearinghouse and information center, cosponsor with the Women's Pentagon Action a tour of a couple of British women from the Greenham Common Peace Camp, participate in the organizing of the summer women's encampment at the Seneca Army Depot (where the neutron bomb is stored and Pershing II missiles will be stored) in upstate New York.

A map on the nuclear weapons "theater" of Europe will be produced to aid WRL organizers in understanding the current arms control debate. Concern was expressed at the NC at the confusion surrounding the dates for Fall Cruise/Pershing demonstrations. An effort will be made to help in straightening out the situation in order to produce unified actions. A series of 60th anniversary commorative events will be staged this year, beginning with a benefit starring Grace Paley, Ruby Dee, and Ossie Davis in New York on April 12.

Exploration will continue on developing a program on racism. The WRL Racism Task Force will meet just before the National Conference this July. There will also be an attempt to raise money to create a full time media staff position. Besides doing more and better publicity on WRL and other movement projects, this person would develop a media campaign to respond to national and world events.

A search committee was set up to find a theme and an editor for the 1985 WRL Peace Calendar. The 1984 Calendar will be on World War II resisters.

A new local group was approved in Washington, D.C. (see the address on the list of locals elsewhere in the *News*). Their activities will focus on war tax resistance and the Cruise/Pershing II missiles.

And finally, the financial report for 1982 showed a surplus for the first time in years. This reduced the overall deficit to about $25,000. This year WRL will use a direct mail agency to sent out introductory pieces on WRL to about 400,000 new people. In this way, WRL can reach many people who may never have heard of WRL, but who are potentially sympathetic.

WRL National Committee meeting. *Photo by Ed Hedemann.*

WRL National Committee meeting. *Photo by Ed Hedemann.*

WRL Regional & Local Offices

WRL National Office, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212-228-0450)
WRL/West, 85 Carl St., San Francisco, CA 94117 (415-731-1220)
WRL/Southeast, 604 West Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 27701 (919-682-6374)

ALABAMA
Birmingham WRL, 567-B Tyler Loop Rd., Pinson, AL 35126 (205-681-7034)
Mobile WRL, P.O. Box 6414, Mobile, AL 36606 (205-471-6008)

CALIFORNIA
Inland Empire WRL, 1336 North Wall Ave., San Bernardino, CA 92404 (714-889-3170)
Northcoast WRL, 1181 Q Street #F, Arcata, CA 95521, (707-822-7831)
Santa Barbara WRL, 3463 State Street, Suite 221, Santa Barbara, CA 93105 (805-685-3404))
Southern California WRL, 541 N. Glower, Los Angeles, CA 90004 (213-469-4207))

COLORADO
Foothills WRL, 3024 Ross Dr. #A-4, Ft. Collins, CO 80521 (303-482-9641)

CONNECTICUT
Norwich WRL, P.O. Box 1093, Norwich, CT 06360 (203-889-5337)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
Washington WRL, c/o Jim Fussell, 664 D Street NE, Washington, DC 20002

FLORIDA
Central Florida WRL, 2315 Ohio Drive, Orlando, FL 32803 (305-896-0703)

GEORGIA
Atlanta WRL, 1225 Cameron Court NE, Atlanta, GA 30306 (404-378-3237)

HAWAII
Hawaii WRL/catholic Action, 1918 University Ave., Honolulu, HI 96822 (808-949-1210)

IDAHO
Pocatello WRL, 603 South 10th St., Pocatello, ID 83201 (208-233-4541)

ILLINOIS
Oak Park WRL, 645 North Taylor, Oak Park, IL 60302 (312-386-0192)

INDIANA
Evansville WRL, c/o Clark Field, 420 SE 2nd St., #B, Evansville, IN 47713 (812-428-7996)
Muncie/Ball State WRL, P.O. Box 401, Student Center, Muncie , IN 47306
Citizens for Peace & Social Justice/WRL, 1312 W. Washington Blvd., Ft. Wayne, IN 46804

MICHIGAN
Detroit WRL, 1542 W. Alexandrine, Detroit, MI 48208 (313-833-3197)

MISSOURI
Columbia WRL, 509 Clinkscales Rd., Columbia, MO 65201 (314-445-4348)
St. Louis WRL, 962 Warder, St. Louis, MO 63130 (314-726-4662)

NEW JERSEY
Monmouth County WRL, P.O. Box 131, Fair Haven, NJ 07701 (201-842-6539)
New Brunswick WRL, P.O. Box 1895, New Brunswick, NJ 08903 (201-846-5843)

NEW YORK
New York City WRL, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012
Rochester WRL, 713 Monroe Ave., Rochester, NY 14607 (716-244-7191))

NORTH CAROLINA
Triangle Area WRL, 604 W. Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 27701 (919-682-6374; 489-0520)

PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia WRL/WTR, 2208 South St., Philadelphia, PA 19146 (215-545-4626)
Pittsburgh WRL, 5406 Bartlett St., Pittsburgh, PA 15217 (412-422-0377)

TEXAS
Dallas WRL, 2710 Woodmere, Dallas, TX 75233 (214-337-5885)

VERMONT
Lamoille Peace Coalition/WRL, P.O. Box 43, Johnson, VT 05656 (802-635-2618)

WASHINGTON
Registration & Draft Counseling Center/WRL, 221 So. G St., #B, Tacoma, WA 98405 (206-272-9525)

WEST VIRGINIA
Morgantown WRL, P.O. Box 744, Morgantown, WV 26505 (304-292-6528)

British Peace Camps

continued from page 2

come running out of the gate and by the camp for their lunchtime jog, then run back in to process uranium.

Faslane

Faslane is located on a loch in Scotland at a British polaris base. Lining the road by the camp are sandbagged machine gun emplacements. I was there for a vigil at the main gate. People from the camp were weaving webs all over the fence. The guards would cut off the ones on the front gate but leave the ones on the sides. The British Military has taken over huge tracts of land for troop practice areas.

Holy Loch

Holy Loch is a U.S. sub-tending base. The peace camp was only a couple of weeks old when I arrived. They had presented the base commander with a letter saying, "We'll leave when you do." The sub-tending base is all in the water in the loch and accessible only by military ferry. We had a vigil at the end of the pier where the U.S. sailors come back and forth. Holy Loch is pretty well up in the fells and the sailors seemed very surprised to hear a non-Scot, much less an American, voice. The Shore Patrol has beaten up two of the peace campers.

Each peace camp has a slightly different focus but all are united in protesting and demanding an end to the facilities. Most of the military personnel have been forbidden to talk to the campers. Some English naval personnel were shipped back to England from Scotland and some Americans have been sent back to the U.S. for breaking this rule.

All the peace camps need support—an encouraging letter, money, publicity in your area, visits and sister camps in the U.S. For regular updates and addresses, subscribe to the War Resisters' International *Newsletter,* ($7.50 a year, send to WRL/NYC).

Women's Walk to Women's Encampment June 6–July 6, 1983

Durham, NC to
Seneca Army Depot, NY

Women are invited to join the 600-mile, 30-day women's peace walk as it makes its way through North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York. For further information, contact the WRL/Southeast, 919-682-6374.

August 27 March on Washington

continued from page 1

was that people's movements were actually setting the country's agenda in the 60's, and for a brief moment this nation was moving in a more humane direction. It was as if the nation—by taking even a tentative step toward recognizing that it had been wrong on race—had released an avalanche of creative energy. Or another way of looking at it: the demands of Black people for equality challenged our economic, political, and social structures in such basic ways that every institution was brought into question.

Then, in the late 60's, the civil rights movement was stopped short; it became an unfinished revolution. Internal weaknesses may have been a factor, but the main problem was an intense period of repression. Dr. King was assassinated, Black panthers were murdered, Cointelpro operations were directed at Black organizations; and, most important, Black organizers at the local level were jailed on serious but spurious charges throughout the country.

None of this totally destroyed the movement; some people kept struggling throughout the 70's. But for a brief and critical moment, the movement for justice lost the initiative—and racist forces went on the offensive.

Some people called it a "white backlash," but it was not spontaneous. The so-called backlash was encouraged by powerful people telling whites that the Black movement was taking rights away from *them*. The right-wing began to build its strength on this myth. The first time I ever heard the phrase, "Get the government off the people's backs" was when George Wallace used it as a rallying cry in his 1968 presidential campaign. He was saying that "Big Government" was on the side of Blacks (which it hardly was) and therefore was bad. More sophisticated right-wingers took up that cry, promoted a philosophy of "every man for himself," and built a mass movement.

Meanwhile, open racism became respectable again, the idea that Blacks had now "made too much progress" became prevalent (as the real gaps between white and Black progress widened by every statistical measure), and the clock began to turn backward on civil-rights. And too many white people, even some who had once supported the civil rights movement, remained silent. So we came to the 1980's beset on all sides by crises, and someway unable to find the key that would build the movement needed to turn the country around.

The lesson of the last three decades is simply the basic truth of U.S. history, restated again: that the denial of human rights to people of color is a basic corruption that has always blocked our path to a good society and peace in the world. And that when Black people move to change the situation—and when a substantial number of whites recognize that struggle as their own and join it—we move toward a humane society that can be a force for peace in the world.

More white people have begun to relearn that truth in the last two years, and slowly a new anti-racist movement has been building. The August, 1983, March on Washington offers us a second chance to grasp the key to social change and peace. Its themes are "Jobs, Peace, & Freedom," and the unprecedented coalition of diverse forces that have come together under Black leadership to sponsor the march says these three issues are "interrelated, interdependent, and all equally important." There's a special message in that statement for those of us who are white, but who have not always understood how the Black struggle for freedom is key to our own survival.

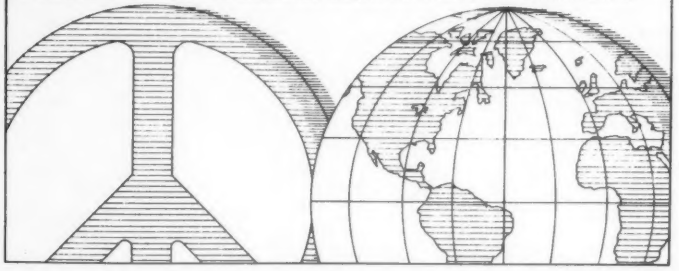
Anne Braden works for the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice.

Think Globally—Act Locally
Making Foreign Policy A Community Issue

The War Resisters League
60th Anniversary National Conference

July 14-17, 1983 • Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania

For information: War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St., NY, NY 10012 (212) 228-0450



Old WRL Photos Needed

To mark its 60th anniversary, WRL is planning to produce a small book of photographs to reflect the personalities, conferences, and demonstrations over its history.

If you have (or know anyone who has) photos pertaining to WRL's history, please send them to us or describe them to us. We can copy and return the original if you wish. We are particularly short on photographs from the early history—the 1920's through the 1950's, although good photos from the 60's through the 80's are also welcome. In addition, we may use leaflets and newspaper articles from the 20's through the 50's.

Write to War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012 (or call 212-228-0450), to the attention of Ed Hedemann.

WRL NEWS

Published by the War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012, 212-228-0450.

WRL is the U.S. branch of the War Resisters' International, a pacifist organization with affiliates in 18 countries.

Staff: Karl Bissinger
Ralph DiGia
Grace Hedemann Hane
Ed Hedemann
David McReynolds
Lisa Miller
Susan Pines
Igal Roodenko

WRL News (from 1967 on) is available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

WRL Statement of Purpose

The War Resisters League affirms that war is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive nonviolently for the removal of all causes of war.

I support this statement and wish to enroll as a member of the War Resisters League.

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State ____ Zip ____

Send to: **War Resisters League**
339 Lafayette Street
New York, NY 10012